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SENATORS

ORVILLE HITCHCOCK PLATT

JOSEPH ROSWELL HAWLEY



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JOINT REPORT

OF THE

Commissions on Memorials

TO

SENATORS

ORVILLE HITCHCOCK PLATT

AND

JOSEPH ROSWELL HAWLEY

TO

The General Assembly of the State of Connecticut

1915

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JOINT REPORT OF COMMISSIONS ON MEMORIALS TO SENATORS ORVILLE HITCHCOCK PLATT AND JOSEPH ROSWELL HAWLEY

Joseph Roswell Hawley died March 18, 1905, just two weeks after completing his fourth term as United States senator from Connecticut. Orville Hitchcock Platt, his colleague, soon following him, died April 21, 1905, while in the third year of his fifth term in the Senate. Each served longer than any of their predecessors in the history of the state. The General Assembly of Connecticut, in session at the time of their death, appointed by Resolutions Nos. 470 and 471 two commissions to procure and recommend to the next General Assembly "designs, plans, specifications and estimates of the cost of a monument or other memorial" to each of these honored sons of the state. The commissions consisted of seven members each, named in the resolutions, besides the state Sculpture Commission, which was made a part of each of the commissions. The sum of twenty-five hundred dollars was appropriated to each commission for preliminary work, of which the two bodies spent five hundred dollars, in paying the late Augustus Saint Gaudens that amount for his expert advice. The Platt Commission chose as chairman Hon. H. Wales Lines of Meriden, and as secretary Arthur L. Shipman of Hartford. The Hawley Commission chose as chairman Colonel Frank W. Cheney of Manchester, and as secretary Charles Hopkins Clark of Hartford. After the death of Colonel Cheney, May 26, 1909, Hon. Charles F. Brooker of Ansonia was chosen his successor as a member of the Hawley Commission and as its chairman.

On the 23d of January, 1907, the two commissions made a joint report to the General Assembly to the effect that it was not

possible to secure proper memorials by competition, and they asked that appropriations be made which they might use "in their judgment for the purposes for which the commissions were created, namely, the creating and placing such memorials within or in connection with the Capitol building or grounds." The General Assembly accepted the report and passed resolutions appropriating \$25,000 to each commission, subsequently providing that whatever part of these sums remained unexpended should be turned over to the Sculpture Commission "for the further decoration and completion of the Capitol building." The two commissions decided upon bronze bas reliefs to be set respectively upon the east and west walls of the north portico of the Capitol. The Platt Commission chose Herman A. MacNeil of New York, and the Hawley Commission chose Herbert Adams of New York. The work of the artists was carried out to the satisfaction of the commissions and of the families of the senators, and the cuts that accompany this report are photographic reproductions of the tablets, which are of heroic size.

The dedication took place on Friday, October 18, 1912, at the Capitol. To this the public generally was invited, and special invitations were sent to the President and Vice-President of the United States, the state officers and all ex-governors, the judges of the Supreme and Superior Courts, former colleagues of the senators at Washington, members of the General Assemblies of 1879 and 1881, which respectively first elected Messrs. Platt and Hawley to the Senate, all survivors of the Seventh Connecticut Regiment, of which Hawley had been colonel, and members of the families of the two senators and their personal friends. Mayor Louis R. Cheney was marshal of the exercises. The Seventh Regiment veterans were escorted to the Capitol, and subsequently for a brief parade, by the First Company of Governor's Foot Guards under Major Frank L. Wilcox, and the Putnam Phalanx (of which General Hawley had been a member) under Major E. C. Bigelow.

Rev. Joseph H. Twichell, D.D., of Hartford, General Hawley's former pastor, opened the dedicatory exercises with prayer. Mr. Lines presented the Platt Memorial and Mr. Brooker the Hawley Memorial to Governor Baldwin, as representative of the state, and the governor accepted them. The memorials were then unveiled, Miss Margery Platt drawing aside the flags from her grandfather's memorial, and Miss Marion Hawley those from her father's.

The audience, which, up to this time, had gathered about the north front out of doors, then withdrew within the Capitol, where Hon. John C. Spooner, formerly senator from Wisconsin and now a resident of New York, delivered the oration upon Senator Platt, and Rev. Dr. Edwin P. Parker, D.D., of Hartford, delivered the oration upon General Hawley. The benediction was then pronounced by Rev. Alfred J. Lord of Meriden, who had been Senator Platt's pastor.

The texts of the several addresses are appended herewith.

PRESENTATION BY MR. LINES

Mr. Lines, chairman of the Platt commission, presenting the Platt Memorial, said:—

Your Excellency—When Orville Hitchcock Platt passed from us April 21, 1905, the General Assembly of Connecticut, then in session, appointed a commission having twelve members, which was instructed "to procure and recommend to the next General Assembly designs, plans and specifications of a monument or other memorial to be erected upon the Capitol grounds." The commission after a careful study of the problem, found themselves unable to submit designs and plans upon conditions which in their judgment would secure the best results, and, therefore made a report to the General Assembly in its 1907 session, recommending an appropriation sufficient to secure work of the highest artistic merit and worthy of the man it was to honor. When that report reached the General Assembly, the rules were suspended and without delay by unanimous vote, each body

adopted the recommendations of the commission and instructed it to design and produce such a memorial.

The memorial has been designed and completed by the eminent sculptor, Herman A. MacNeil of College Point, Long Island, and from him we have in bronze a faithful partrait of our departed friend. But this artist's masterpiece erected by the people of Connecticut is but the visible token that these people feel and know that there are other memorials of the work and worth of Senator Platt; memorials which will not fade nor crumble; memorials which he himself has builded.

The confidence of Connecticut people in him had no limit. For twenty-six years he held their commission to a place in the world's greatest council chamber. The common-sense, industry, courage, patriotism and trust in God which controlled his every act made him a great leader in that body. How many great measures he carried through and how many he materially aided is not known or understood by many people and hence is not yet fully appreciated. A complete account of it has not as yet been told nor written. In his every action he tried to be right; his associates knew and felt that he tried always to be right and this gave to him his power. His one ambition was to be right and to be useful. For his pure life, for his record of right things done, for the good name he leaves, let us thank the Lord in whom he believed and in whom he put his trust.

Governor Baldwin, the work of this commission has been a precious privilege, but this occasion is saddened because four of our beloved and helpful associates have all untimely been taken from us: Dr. William J. Ford, Kirk H. Leavens, John H. Whittemore and Abiram Chamberlain. We hope our work is satisfactory to the people of Connecticut and we ask the acceptance of it for them by you.

PRESENTATION BY MR. BROOKER

Mr. Brooker, chairman of the Hawley commission, presenting the Hawley Memorial, said:—

Governor Baldwin:—

To me in common with my associates on the Hawley Memorial Commission, the fact that our beloved associate and former chairman, Colonel Frank Woodbridge Cheney, did not live to see

the completion of the work he was so greatly interested in is a matter of sincere regret. By reason of his fine judgment, his marked service in the Civil War, his association with and strong personal affection for General Hawley, he was pre-eminently fitted for the work of the commission, and we are largely indebted to his wise counsel for the result as shown in the completed work.

On behalf of the Hawley Memorial Commission, it is my duty and great pleasure now to turn over to you, sir — the honored chief executive of our beloved commonwealth — this memorial, prepared with loving care, of that gallant patriot, General Joseph Roswell Hawley, whose distinguished service in the field, as governor, as representative in Congress, and, with the exception of his distinguished colleague, Senator Platt, whom also we honor today, as a senator of the United States for a longer period than any of his predecessors. He brought name and fame to the state he loved so well, and to which he freely gave the best there was in him.

In connection with the final act for which this commission was raised, may I express for myself and my associates the sincere hope that the devoted life of General Hawley may prove an inspiration to higher ideals of duty to all who may look upon this beautiful tribute from the state he served so faithfully and well.

ACCEPTANCE BY THE GOVERNOR

Governor Baldwin, on behalf of the state, accepted both memorials, speaking as follows : —

Gentlemen of the Platt Memorial Commission ; gentlemen of the Hawley Memorial Commission ; veteran soldiers and fellow citizens : —

On this beautiful October day, in the smile of the sunshine, the state receives from your hands the completed work which it entrusted to your care. It testifies to your good judgment and good taste. The skill of the artist has brought before us forms that no longer belong to earth — the alert military figure of Hawley, the grave and thoughtful countenance of Platt. These men sat long together as members of a legislative assembly that never dies. Every other year we renew our congresses, but the

Senate is never wholly changed. It is the same identical body now that met first in New York to inaugurate the federal government, in April, 1789. The best guarded and most important possession of the smaller states of the Union is their right of equal representation in the Senate of the United States. It is the best guarded, for it is expressly put beyond reach of abridgment by reason of any future amendment of the Constitution, except by consent of the state to be affected, and such consent it would never give. It is the most important possession, for under a bicameral system of government, the equal vote of each state in one branch of Congress carries an assurance that that branch will not be likely to concur in any measure passed by the other branch which the lesser states may deem inimical to their true interests. Because the Senate is thus the fortress of their rights, were there no other room, these states should ever take a double care to send there men of character and power. In choosing them also, they will not fail to remember that no great officers of government, under our American political system, excepting the judges, have a term of office so long, or one more likely to be renewed when it expires. The usefulness of a senator grows materially with his length of service, and this is strikingly evident in his influence in committee-work under the traditions of the Senate, slowly formed and slowly surrendered. Connecticut had these considerations in mind when she elected and re-elected the two senators in whose honor these memorials have been set up. Each served to complement the other: Hawley with his mastery of oratory, and Platt with his profound political sagacity; Hawley with his wide and varied experience and acquaintance, and Platt with his quiet and steady purpose to put his best into his daily work.

In behalf of the state, I now receive these memorials into her keeping. High above us stand statues of some of the great figures in our early history. These bronzes will serve to remind those entering this stately portal that Connecticut is also not ungrateful to her sons of later days who served her well. Perhaps we may be too apt to look backward for our heroic age. That public man in every generation, in the commonplaces of our own day, is a hero who, put by the state in a great station, with capacity to fill it as it should be filled, does his full duty by his charge.

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ORVILLE HITCHCOCK PLATT

Born at Washington, Conn., July 19, 1827

State Senator 1861-2

State Representative 1864-9

United States Senator 1879-1905

Died at Washington, Conn., April 21, 1905

ADDRESS OF THE HON. JOHN C. SPOONER ON SENATOR PLATT

Hon. John C. Spooner, introduced by Mr. Lines, delivered the following address on Senator Platt:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: We are here today to carry into effect, by appropriate ceremonial, a well-deserved tribute by the Commonwealth of Connecticut to two of her best loved sons, Orville H. Platt and Joseph R. Hawley, upon whom she steadfastly conferred the highest honor within the gift of a state — by choosing them to represent her in the Senate of the United States.

The part assigned to me in this ceremonial is to speak of Orville Hitchcock Platt — a senator of the United States for over a quarter of a century from this commonwealth, with whom I was associated in that service for fifteen years. To me it is a labor of love, as for years we lived under the same roof, and until “God’s finger touched him and he slept,” I was honored by his friendship and unreservedly admitted to his confidence.

It is not possible under the limitations of the occasion, nor is it at all needful in Connecticut, to dwell in detail upon his boyhood, or the circumstances in which he grew to manhood. It is enough to say that he came of an ancestry, strong-fibered, liberty-loving and God-fearing. He was born upon a farm, owned and tilled by his father, who had been described by one who knew him as

“A man of fine face and figure, intelligent, kindly and courteous, as one who took a prominent part in the politics of the town and religious meetings, and was forcible, modest and a convincing speaker.”

Of his mother the same person has written: —

“That she was a stately, handsome woman, quiet in manner, prudent in speech, but positive in her convictions; finding her greatest pleasure in the life of the home, attention to her domestic duties, reading the Scriptures and standard works and

teaching her boys by precept and example the virtues of goodness, charity, sobriety and whatever else contributed to the development of sturdy self-reliance and manly manhood."

The people of Connecticut need not to be told of his ancestry, the environment of his youth, or the circumstances which developed his manhood. It is enough to say that he possessed the conscience of the Puritan, that he early learned the lessons of self-denial and self-help, that he was a hard and faithful worker in the school and in the field. In the one he acquired knowledge and mental discipline, in the other he developed that great physical vigor, which enabled him to honor at sight every draft made thereon during his long and arduous life.

Contemporaneous with his birth and youth was the agitation against African slavery in the United States. The father and mother of Senator Platt were abolitionists and the struggle between freedom and slavery became acute in the neighborhood in which was his home. It divided congregations. It suppressed the school in which he was a student, and in which later he was an instructor; it attached him irrevocably to the principles of liberty. The lessons which he learned in his youth and which were confirmed in his maturity he adhered to "without variable-ness or shadow of turning" to the hour of his death. It is quite impossible to dissociate from his career the convictions which came in his youth. They were taught him by his father and his mother. They became part of his conscience and his very being. To hate oppression and injustice was a part of his youth, and it was a part of his manhood. Perhaps the ceaseless and powerful struggle, involving immense labor for years in the Senate, to protect the Indian tribes from injustice and the rapacity of the white man, in violation of treaty rights, was due somewhat to the teachings of the fireside of his boyhood home. It was a work which was near to his heart, and no one know better than he that in its performance he invited the hostility of the influential, and that the gratitude of the Indian, albeit sincere, would be silent and unimpressive. Senator Morgan of Alabama well said in the eulogy which he pronounced upon Senator Platt, referring to his work in the committee on Indian affairs:—

"The proud and silent nod of the grateful Indian in approbation of the equally proud and silent assistance of the great senator

was the only token of friendship between men who were sternly just in their actions, and neither of them asked nor expected nor granted favors."

INDUSTRY AND FIDELITY IN STUDY

He was enabled to acquire under the tutelage of a gifted teacher, and through his own industry and fidelity in study, an excellent education and a power of investigation and analysis which was evidently quite phenomenal. It is no surprise, when we keep in mind the characteristics of his youth, his industry and aptitude for acquiring knowledge, that he chose as his life work the profession of the law. That as a lawyer he was industrious, honorable and able is well attested by his success in the profession. The friends he gained, who still survive him, are still his friends. It is said that his practice in Meriden, then, of course, much smaller and less important than the Meriden of today, became large and lucrative.

He early won the confidence of those among whom he lived. He was honored with positions locally and in the state on several occasions, having served a term as state's attorney of the county, and as secretary of state, besides having been speaker of the House of Representatives of Connecticut, and ultimately he was chosen in a highly honorable way for the United States Senate by the General Assembly in January, 1879, and took his place in that august body on March 18, 1879, and from that day to the day of his death represented Connecticut therein.

While appreciating the great honor conferred upon him by the State of Connecticut, he did not regard it as an honor, simply to be a senator of the United States, but rather he looked upon it as a great opportunity afforded to him by the commonwealth in which he was born, and to which he was devoted, to achieve for his state and for himself honor, by laborious and faithful service as a senator. A man fit to be a senator suddenly ushered into that body without previous experience in federal legislation, charged equally with those of large experience there with the intelligent solution of the varied problems with which the Senate has to deal, is very likely to regret for a time that success had crowned his ambition to become a senator.

Orville Hitchcock Platt, while self-reliant and self-respecting, was withal a modest man, and, with that good sense which always characterized him, he determined to fit himself for the duties

which inhere in the office by patient and dilligent study of each subject with which as a senator he was obliged to deal. From the day he entered it to the end of his service, he gave without stint to every question involving the public interest, the pains-taking investigation and reflection required to enable him to reach a correct conclusion.

He put to good use in the public service the habit of work which he had acquired in his youth; the power of investigation which he had acquired in the schools, and in the study of the law and in the practice of his profession, and of the public questions with which he had been obliged to deal as a citizen and state official. He was essentially in all the relations of life a faithful man, loyal to his convictions, and persistent in fitting himself to discharge well every duty imposed upon him or intrusted to him.

HIS AIM AS A SENATOR

He entered the United States Senate with a determined purpose to make of himself what the people of Connecticut desired and expected him to be — what the people of the United States have a right to demand that a senator of the United States shall be. He realized from the beginning, what some who have been in his position have not been so quick to realize, that, while a senator is chosen by his state, he is not a senator of the state which chose him, but he is a senator of the United States from the state which chose him.

Rightly regarding his election to the Senate as affording him the honor of an opportunity to win for his state and for himself by able and devoted service to the people of the United States, he gave the best that was in him to the right solution of public questions and to the advocacy and promotion of sound policies. Loyal always to Connecticut, where any demand of the constituents, in his judgment, conflicted with the general public interest, it may, without fear of contradiction, be asserted of him that there has been no member of that body who with greater single heartedness sought to serve the interests of the people of the United States, and subordinate to that every interest of the people of the state in which he was born and reared, in which all of the associations of his life were centered, and which he not only tenderly loved, but of which he was inexpressibly proud, than did he.

He carried into the national public life the same sense of responsibility that a high-minded executor or administrator does in conserving the interest which he represents in a fiduciary way, not only in large things but in small ones. Unless detained from the chamber by illness, he was during the sessions of the body always at his post of duty. He gave attention to every bill on the calendar; he felt it to be his duty to defeat a claim, albeit trifling in amount, if it involved, in his judgment, a wrong or vicious principle, for he knew the power of a wrong precedent in Congressional legislation. It was a part of the education of his boyhood and youth to realize that "many a mickel makes a muckle," and that, whatever one may do with his own, acting in a representative capacity he has no right to sacrifice the interest of those whom he represents whether they be large or small. When a bill came before the Senate, if he arose and said: "Mr. President, let that bill go over," the introducer of that measure, if he knew it was of a doubtful merit, lost hope, for, when it came up again, he could be certain that the senator who had, by a word, stopped it for investigation, would be ready to fight it, approve it, or by amendment eliminate from it some vicious feature, or incorporate some safeguard for the future. As time went on he became a member of committees of larger importance — the committee on territories; the committee on patents; the committee on the judiciary; the committee on finance, and during all the years he kept as fully advised of the decisions of the supreme court upon constitutional and other questions involving federal litigation as if he were engaged in constant practice before that court, and moreover he familiarized himself with the principles of international law. He devoted great study to financial questions, and was one of the strongest and most unflinching advocates of sound principles of finance and currency. He familiarized himself with every phase almost of the tariff, and became familiar with almost every industry affected by it.

In the latter years of his laborious service in the Senate, as the result of his steadfast investigation of public questions, his mastery of constitutional and international law, of finance, and economic principles and problems, brought him more and more to the front, and the retirement of senators, who had preceded his entrance to the body, impelled him as a matter of duty to take a more conspicuous position in the constructive work of the

Senate and in the debates upon questions of large and far reaching import.

In the formulation of public policies and the advocacy of measures of large concern, he had as chairman of the committee on territories, done great work and accomplished great results. He had as chairman of the committee on patents promoted legislation of great advantage to inventors and promotive of the inventive genius of the country. He had led in the enactment of adequate legislation in respect to the copyright, which secured to one a property right in the product of the mind. He had taken a conspicuous part in the debate which attended the enactment of the interstate commerce law. He had opposed the anti-pooling section of that bill, and had strenuously contended that competitive railway companies be permitted to make agreements in respect of rates, subject to approval by the interstate commerce commission, but he had been defeated. My vote was against his proposition, but in justice to him I may be permitted to say here today that I reached the conclusion later that he was right and that I was wrong, and I took the first opportunity afforded me to publicly so avow.

HIS WORK ON ANTI-TRUST BILL

During the debate on the anti-trust bill, which lasted for weeks, and which from the standpoint of today is not so illuminating in respect of the general principles involved as it seemed then to be, he rendered a service which has not been much referred to, but which should never be forgotten. The bill, introduced December 4, 1889, by Mr. Sherman, and reported by him from the committee on finance, January 4, 1890, was discussed for several weeks, when Senator Platt made a short speech against it. The bill provided:—

“That all arrangements, contracts, agreements between two or more persons, which tend to prevent full and free competition in articles of growth, production and manufacture of any state or territory of the United States with similar articles of growth, production, or manufacture by another state or territory, and all arrangements between such persons which tend to advance the cost to the consumer of any such articles are hereby declared to be against public policy, unlawful and void.”

Senator Platt said:—

“In other words, this bill proceeds upon the false assumption

that all competition is beneficent to the country, and that every advance of price is an injury to the country. That is the assumption upon which this bill proceeds. There was never a greater fallacy in the world. Competition, which this bill provides for, as between any two persons, must be full and free. Unrestricted competition is brutal warfare and injurious to the whole country. The great corporations in this country, the great monopolies in this country, are every one of them built upon the graves of weaker competitors that have been forced to their death by remorseless competition. I am entirely sick of this idea that the lower the prices are the better for the country, and that any arrangements made between persons engaged in business to advance prices, no matter how low they may be, is a wrong, and ought to be repressed and punished. The true theory of this matter is that prices should be just and reasonable and fair. No matter who is the producer, or what the article, it should render a fair return to all persons engaged in production, a fair profit on capital, on labor and everything else that enters into its production. With the price of any article I don't care whether wheat or iron; I don't care whether it is corn or silverware, whenever the price of any commodity is far below that standard the whole of the country suffers."

He demonstrated his proposition. The words "trade and commerce" were not in the bill. It was directed solely against all contracts and combinations in restraint of full and free competition. Senator Platt completely riddled it. After so doing, he said:—

"So, Mr. President, I cannot vote for this bill in the shape in which I think it will come to a vote, or in any shape in which I think it will be perfected. I am ready to go to the people of the state of Connecticut. I have faith and confidence in them, and when I tell them that here is a bill which under the guise of dealing with trusts would strike a greater blow at their entire industries, I know they will see it and understand it, and, if there be a people anywhere in this country who cannot understand it, it is better for a senator to answer to his judgment and his conscience than it is to answer to their misapprehension."

The effect of the argument, delivered as it was, was instant. Immediately a motion was made to refer the bill to the committee on the judiciary, with instructions to report within twenty days, and the motion was carried, and it came back from the judiciary committee, of which Senator Platt was a member, with

the words "full and free competition" stricken from it, and the words "trade and commerce" inserted in lieu of it, and generally redrafted and as so reported it is upon the statute book today.

The supreme court, in its early construction, construed it as if the words "full and free competition" were in it. But after the lapse of many years, and after Senator Platt had passed away, that court, under the leadership of the present chief justice, struck out the word "competition," and restored the words: "trade and commerce," so as to bring within the act only combinations and agreements which in the light of reason unduly restrain trade and commerce, and to leave open that large field which Senator Platt saw must in the interest of the people be left for agreements in restraint of competition which promote trade and commerce up to the point where they not only cease to promote but unduly restrain trade and commerce. His intervention clarified the subject and was an incalculable public service.

He thought profoundly, and he had convictions, and he had moreover that thing without which convictions are of little, if any, worth — the courage of his convictions. He never seemed to give a thought in respect of any vote, or any speech delivered by him, of its possible effect on his popularity. He never uttered a word in the Senate with the slightest apparent reference to stage effect or public comment. He was true to his convictions. He would not do for any one in Connecticut, however powerful, what he thought to be against the interest of the people of the United States and he would do for Connecticut anything, and did so far as possible, which was, in his judgment, right in itself and compatible with the general interest. He loved popularity — who does not? But he would not purchase it by a surrender of his convictions. He prized inexpressibly the popular confidence and respect, which was evoked by able, loyal and faithful service, and that he gave, and that confidence and respect he received, and, although no longer among us, is receiving today.

PROBLEM FOLLOWING THE SPANISH WAR

The treaty by which the war with Spain was terminated brought to the United States the cession of the Philippines and of Porto Rico. Spain also relinquished her title and sovereignty to and over the island of Cuba, then in military occupation of the United States. The close of the war brought novel responsi-

bilities and imposed new duties upon this government, involving legislation in respect of the Philippines and of Porto Rico, presenting questions of grave moment and much intricacy. These questions were much debated in the Senate. The power of the United States to acquire the Philippines was challenged there. Senator Platt in an admirably reasoned and eloquent speech maintained the existence of the power. In that speech he said : —

“ We are under the obligation and direction of a higher power with reference to our duty in the Philippine Islands. The United States of America has a high call to duty, to a moral duty, to a duty to advance the cause of free government in the world by something more than example. It is not enough to say to a country over which we have acquired an undisputed and indisputable sovereignty ‘ Go your own gait ; look at our example.’ In the entrance of the harbor of New York, our principal port, there is the Statue of Liberty enlightening the world. Look at that, and follow our example !

“ No, Mr. President. When the Anglo-Saxon race crossed the Atlantic, and stood on the shores of Massachusetts Bay and on Plymouth Rock, that movement meant something more than the establishment of civil and religious liberty within a narrow, confined and limited compass. It had in it the force of the Almighty ; and from that day to this it has been spreading, widening and extending until, like the stone seen by Daniel in his vision, cut out of the mountain without hands, it has filled all our borders, and ever westward across the Pacific that influence which found its home in the Mayflower and its development on Plymouth Rock has been extending and is extending its sway and its beneficence. I believe, Mr. President, that the time is coming, is as surely coming as the time when the world shall be Christianized, when the world shall be converted to the cause of free government, and I believe the United States is a providentially appointed agent for that purpose. The day may be long in coming, and it may be in the far future, but he who has studied the history of this Western World from the 22nd day of December, 1620, to the present hour must be blind indeed, if he cannot see that the cause of free government in the world is still progressing, and that what the United States is doing in the Philippine Islands is in the extension of that beneficent purpose.”

It is but a little time since he was laid away in the cemetery near which his parents lived and where he was born. The impromptu speech from which this language is quoted was delivered with great power, intensity, and true eloquence. Since

that day the people of China have overthrown an ancient dynasty, forced the abdication of the Emperor, and China is today governed with the approval or acquiescence of her people, by a provisional republican government, which awaits the action of the Chinese people in respect of a permanent constitution and a permanent republican government. This senator from Connecticut spoke with the foresight of a prophet. He possessed that fine insight which is the genius of real statesmanship.

The peculiar status of Cuba which was occupied by the army of the United States and under military government, cast upon us not only a grave responsibility but a complicated and perplexing problem. The congress had, in the joint resolution, under which the war was inaugurated, not only decently but wisely disclaimed any purpose to acquire Cuba, from which it followed that we would occupy Cuba only until under our guidance and with our aid the Cuban people could form and maintain a government of their own. It, therefore, became necessary to establish the committee on "relations with Cuba," and Senator Platt by common consent was made chairman of that committee, of which at his earnest request I became a member. When this government became satisfied that the pacification of Cuba was complete, measures were taken under military supervision, by direction of the President, to facilitate the formation by the people of a government of their own, and to that end provision was made for the calling of a convention to frame a constitution.

There were many reasons why the people of Cuba in their own interest, as well as in the interest of the United States, should not be permitted to form a government without provisions embodied also in a perpetual treaty with the United States, containing irrevocable safeguards against improvident action weakening their independence, and giving this government a permanent right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence; the maintenance of a government for the protection of life, property and individual liberty, and for discharging the obligations with respect to Cuba imposed by the Treaty of Paris on the United States, thence to be assumed and undertaken by the government of Cuba.

Senator Platt called a formal meeting of the committee on relations with Cuba, and submitted to the committee a draft of what is known as the Platt amendment, which, with slight, if any,

changes was adopted by resolution of the committee on February 26, reported by the chairman to the Senate, and on the same day offered by him as an amendment to the army appropriation bill then pending, and adopted on the 27th of February by a vote of 43 to 20, a strict party division. While limiting the power of Cuba, it was intended to "safeguard the independence of Cuba, and it is not susceptible of doubt that such has been, and "in the long reach of time" will continue to be, its effect.

STORY OF THE PLATT AMENDMENT

It is known, and justly known, as the "Platt amendment." Some doubt has been cast upon his right to be regarded as its author, and in justice to this able, faithful and splendid public servant, I beg to be permitted to say here what I know about drafting the Platt amendment. One evening Senator Platt came to my working room — we both lived at the Arlington Hotel — where I was dictating letters to my secretary. Senator Platt carried in his hand a paper. He said to me: "Spooner, I am sick with the grip" (and he looked ill). "I wish you would help me put in shape a provision which must be embodied in the constitution of Cuba, or appended to it as an irrevocable ordinance and in a permanent treaty."

He handed me the paper referred to. I, of course, promptly acquiesced, and we talked the matter over with reference to what should be added, if anything, to the subjects indicated on his paper. We discussed as I remember the advisability of adding a provision which would safeguard the continued sanitation of the cities of the island, and protect our commerce and our southern ports and people from the ravages of yellow fever and other epidemic and infectious diseases. When we had agreed upon the subjects, I dictated to my secretary, in the presence of Senator Platt (stopping and being stopped now and then for consultation), what it seemed would cover adequately the subjects which we had agreed were necessary to be embodied in it. It was written out, and we went over it carefully together with a view to improving and perfecting its phraseology where it seemed to be called for. I do not remember precisely what these changes, which were verbal, were. There was on the paper which Senator Platt handed to me, a memorandum of every subject which is embraced in the Platt amendment, excepting the clause in respect of sanita-

tion. We agreed upon it and I directed my secretary to make three fair copies, so that we could have them early the next morning, at which time I gave two to Senator Platt and kept one myself, and at his request I accompanied him to the White House.

President McKinley promptly received us, and Senator Platt handed him a copy of the draft. He read it carefully and announced that it was precisely what he wanted. He asked Senator Platt for a copy, which he said he wished to send to Secretary Root as soon as he could. Whether Senator Platt gave him his copy, or I gave him mine, I do not remember, but one or the other of us gave him a copy. That day it was presented informally to members of the committee, who were called together for the purpose, and carefully considered. If any changes were made in it, and I do not remember that any were made, they were very trifling ones. The democratic members treated it fairly and while not willing to vote for it — and it was out of order as being general legislation on an appropriation bill, and if objected to would necessarily have been ruled out of order — even those who recorded their votes against it forbore to raise a point of order and it went into the bill and became a law. He undoubtedly had consulted others, but it would be at variance with his conduct through life for him to permit to be imputed to him the authorship of a document which had been originated and drawn by another.

Take him all in all, his great ability, his industry, his fidelity, the high standard which he set for himself as a public servant, his courage, his modesty, his unfaltering loyalty to the public interest, his sincerity, his hatred of sham and demagoguery, he was an ideal senator of the United States.

AN IDEAL AMERICAN

He was an intense American, and thought the Constitution of the United States the finest charter of government ever drafted for a people. He realized that there would be times when the people would grow restless of its restraints and under rash but attractive leadership might stray from the path so wisely and so clearly marked by the fathers who established the government. But he never permitted it to worry him. He realized that one of the purposes which led the people to adopt a written constitution was to protect themselves against themselves in times of passion and excitement.

He had an abiding faith in the sober second thought of the American people, and while he thought the people in a relatively small area might *en masse* make their own laws, pass their own ordinances, and adequately consider and manage their affairs, that in a large territory and population, the only practical government was the representative government established by the fathers of the republic. To him it seemed continuously essential that the independence of the co-ordinate branches of the government should neither be invaded nor diminished, and that the reserved rights of the states should be scrupulously respected. He deemed it vital that the independence of the judiciary throughout the Union should be religiously maintained. He realized that evils and abuses would creep into administration, both in the states and in the nation, but he could not be persuaded that in our country evils or abuses could ever exist, the eradication of which would require the abandonment of any of the fundamental principles of the government under the constitution.

THE REWARD OF SERVICE

He said once to me — speaking of the sacrifice from some standpoints which public service demanded — that one who entered it and devoted himself to it could see no reward for the toil and sacrifice of such a life but the consciousness that one was really serving the people to his uttermost and was accorded by the people without reserve their confidence, respect, and gratitude. That, he said, among such a people, “is reward enough.” He was a loyal friend, a generous colleague, a charming comrade, and, while rather stern in mien at times, was at heart as tender and sympathetic as a woman.

You all knew his love of nature; how it delighted him to wander in the woods; to study the trees and the flowers; to listen to the voices of the birds and to the sweet music of the rippling water. It was a long, rugged and toilsome journey from the farm in Judea, to the lofty eminence upon which he died, but he traveled it man fashion, with strong heart, honest purpose, unclouded mind and unafraid.

Connecticut has done a just and gracious act by placing in her Capitol this memorial tablet, reproducing his form and features at once a triumph of the artist's skill and a beautiful tribute by

the state he loved. It was not needed to keep the memory of him alive in the hearts of those who knew and trusted him. But it will be an object lesson, to generations yet to come, in patriotism, personal honor, statesmanship, and supreme loyalty to the highest standard of noble conduct in the service of the people. Whenever Connecticut in the years to come, from time to time shall "count her jewels," she will find among them all — and she has many, and will have more — none more flawless or of finer luster than the life and public service of Orville Hitchcock Platt.



JOSEPH ROSWELL HAWLEY

Born at Stewartsville, N. C., October 31, 1826

Brevet Major-General U. S. V. 1865

Governor of Connecticut 1866

Member of Congress 1872-81

United States Senator 1881-1905

Died at Washington, D. C. March 17, 1905

ADDRESS OF THE REV. DR. PARKER ON SENATOR HAWLEY

Rev. Dr. Edwin Pond Parker, introduced by Mr. Brooker, delivered the following address on Senator Hawley:—

Joseph Roswell Hawley was a descendant in the eighth generation from Joseph Hawley who came from England to Boston in 1629, and subsequently settled in Stratford, Connecticut. His father was Rev. Francis Hawley, a native of Farmington in this state, who spent a portion of his earlier years in North Carolina, where he married Mary McLeod, in which state and in the town of Stewartsville, on the 31st day of October, 1826, their son, Joseph Roswell was born. The household came to Connecticut in 1837, and the son attended the Hartford Grammar School, and, afterward, a school at Cazenovia, New York, whither the family had removed. He entered Hamilton College and graduated with honor in the class of 1847, having won distinction as a speaker and debater. One of his friends in school and college was Charles Dudley Warner, who came to Hartford in 1860 and was thereafter until his death, intimately associated with General Hawley. He taught in schools, studied law, and in 1849 returned to Connecticut, was admitted to the bar in Hartford in 1850, where, together with the late John Hooker, he opened a law office. His father, his partner and his uncle, David Hawley with whom he then resided, were staunch anti-slavery men. No persuasions were necessary to induce him to follow in their train. In so doing he simply obeyed the dictates of his own reason and conscience, in the face of strong dissuasions. Only those who remember what displeasure and antipathy they incurred who, in those days, openly espoused the anti-slavery cause, can appreciate the moral courage of a young lawyer on the threshold of his career in adopting and advocating opinions so distasteful to many of his friends, so repugnant to the major part of his townsmen, and, apparently, so unfavorable to his professional prospects. It is pleasant to add that he did not fail to win the respect and confidence of the community, and that his law business sustained no serious detriment.

Young Hawley harbored nothing of the immoderation and fanaticism which some of the anti-slavery agitators unfortunately exhibited. The Union and the Constitution were sacred to him. But he believed human slavery to be unspeakably iniquitous and pernicious, and seeing it, just then, arrogant and aggressive, demanding new concessions, putting forth alarming pretensions, and energetic for extension he regarded it with abhorrence as not only the peculiar sin and shame of the nation but its peculiar peril as well. His policy was that which Mr. Lincoln, some time later, stated, "to arrest the further spread of slavery in the land, and to place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction." He was a progressive Free-Soiler, and a conservative Abolitionist. Nevertheless, between this legitimate position and that of the pro-slavery agitators and their Northern apologists there was only fighting ground. Remembering those days it seems to me that Hawley's sterling virtues never shone with purer luster than when as a young man and in the face of obloquy, he unhesitatingly chose the better part, glad of its cross and heedless of its shame.

KEY TO HIS CAREER

Then it was — to borrow Senator McLean's famous figure — that he clasped hands with "the better genius of the Republic," with whom "he walked hand in hand for almost half a century." The clue to this man's whole career is in the fact that he began it with the immense advantage of this great choice and prepossession.

OUTLINE OF HIS CAREER

He became chairman of the Free-Soil committee of Hartford in 1851, and employed both pen and voice to unify and organize the anti-slavery forces. He was a delegate to the Free-Soil National Convention in 1852. On February 4, 1856, upon his call and in his office, the first meeting for the organization of the republican party in Connecticut was held. He took an active part in the Fremont campaign, one result of which was the establishment of his reputation as a remarkably popular and effective stump-speaker. From 1857 until the outbreak of the war he edited the "Hartford Evening Press," the organ of the new party. President Lincoln's proclamation calling for 75,000 soldiers to serve for three months, dated April 15, 1861, was published here on Tuesday, April 16, and on the evening of April 17

a memorable mass-meeting of the citizens of Hartford, irrespective of party affiliations, was held, at which Hawley made one of his rousing speeches and was greeted with great enthusiasm. For it was known that already on that same day, a company had been recruited of which George S. Burnham was elected captain and Joseph R. Hawley first-lieutenant. A few days after, Burnham was promoted to be lieutenant-colonel of the First Regiment and Hawley became captain of his company, the first one accepted by the state. Mr. Warner, — a man no less distinguished by the purity and loveliness of his personal character than by his celebrity in the realm of literature, — at whose funeral General Hawley said, “for fifty-seven years we lived as brothers, without a single controversy or passage of ill-feeling,” was already engaged with the “Evening Press.” Then came Stephen A. Hubbard, who had been with Edmund C. Stedman on the “Winsted Herald,” a quiet, modest man of remarkable sagacity and content with inconspicuous usefulness.

IN THE ARMY

Confiding the conduct of the “Press” to these two persons, from that time onward so long as they lived foremost among General Hawley’s most intimate and helpful friends, the anti-slavery editor and agitator entered upon his new career. The eloquence of his example exceeding that of his utterances captured all hearts and made him the object of an admiration which thenceforward never waned nor wavered. At the expiration of three months he promptly re-enlisted, became lieutenant-colonel and then colonel of the Seventh Connecticut Regiment, and in the course of the war rose by successive and merited promotions to the rank of Brevet Major General of United States Volunteers, conferred “for gallant and meritorious services during the war.” In several of the thirteen or fourteen battles in which he participated, his conduct was such as to elicit official praise for “conspicuous gallantry” and for “distinguished courage and ability.” But his military service covered an unusually wide range of duties in a variety of important positions, all of which he discharged with an alacrity, fidelity and ability which won for him the commendation of his superior officers, the approval of the government and of his state, the affection of the soldiers under his command, and the enduring reputation

of a gallant, valiant and efficient soldier. Some of the men who, fifty years ago, served under him and shared with him the fortunes and misfortunes of war are here present. In the name of this Commonwealth of Connecticut, in the name of their beloved commander, and in behalf of all here assembled, I reverently salute the survivors of the Seventh Regiment, and breathe the prayer that by the blessing of God upon their declining days they may find comfort and cheer both in the sacred memories of past services and sacrifices, and in the bright hopes set before them and shining upon them in their evening sky.

IN PUBLIC OFFICE

General Hawley was elected governor of the State of Connecticut in April, 1866, and in 1867 resumed editorial work on the "Hartford Courant," then united with the "Evening Press." But he preferred the platform to the desk, and the welcome that greeted his every appearance on the rostrum and the remarkable favor with which his public speeches were everywhere received, justified that preference. He was president of the National Republican Convention in 1868, secretary of the committee on resolutions in 1872, and chairman of that committee in 1876, and had much to do in shaping and in advocating the issues upon which his party went before the country at that period. He was president of the United States Centennial Commission from its organization in 1872 until its dissolution in 1877, and of the historical Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia, and his earnest and successful endeavors against opening that exhibition on the Lord's Day are not forgotten. He represented his state in the lower house of Congress in 1873, and subsequently in the Forty-third and Forty-sixth Congress, serving there on the committees on claims, banking and currency, military affairs and appropriations. He was elected United States Senator in 1881 and thereafter in 1887, in 1893 and in 1899. His most important service in Washington was probably that performed as chairman of the Senate committee on civil service reform and on military affairs. He vigorously promoted the enactment of civil service reform legislation, and, as chairman of the committee on military affairs, for which he was eminently qualified both by his executive ability and his military experience, he sustained a burden both onerous and honorable, with great usefulness. The labors entailed upon

him in that position during the Spanish War contributed not a little to break down his health and strength. The honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him by his Alma Mater, Hamilton College, in 1875, and by Yale University in 1886.

A RELIGIOUS MAN

General Hawley was a reverent and religious man. In the maturity of his years he publicly professed the Christian faith which from childhood he had cherished, and united with the church in Hartford of which his beloved friend and fellow-soldier, Joseph H. Twichell, was the pastor, and frequently participated in religious conferences and conventions, either as presiding over them or as speaking in them concerning matters pertaining to the duties and work of the church in its relation to public affairs.

Such is a bare outline of his long, eventful, useful and honorable career, the details of which might make a volume. Through all the vicissitudes of tempestuous years he kept the faith of early profession and fought the good fight thereof with cheerful courage until failing health disabled him. After a protracted illness he passed away in the early morning of March 18, 1905, in the eightieth year of his age.

TRIBUTES AT HIS FUNERAL

His obsequies, attended here, in Capitol and sanctuary, were marked by most impressive demonstrations of affectionate respect. Pulpit and press, men of all parties, professions and creeds contributed to compose such a garland of praise as is seldom laid upon the breast of man at his burial. From that profusion of praise I quote one sentence spoken by his colleague, Senator Platt: "No truer man ever lived; no braver man ever fought on the battlefield or in the struggle of life; no more loyal son of Connecticut ever lived within her borders, loyal to his friends, to his people, to his state, to the nation, to truth, and to God himself." That which is said of David in Holy Scripture might be his befitting epitaph: "So, after he had served the will of God, in his own age, he fell asleep and was gathered unto his fathers."

On the first day of March, 1907, a debate occurred in the United States Senate in the course of which many Senators spoke

of General Hawley's services to the country in terms of highest praise. One of them related the following anecdote: "When I left the Senate in 1891, I had then three riding horses of which I was fond, and which I would not sell, but was willing to give away. I offered one to General Hawley. This was long ago when he was strong, a strong, chivalrous gentleman he always was. He thanked me with tears in his eyes and said: 'I have not money enough to pay for his keep; give him to some senator who is able to take care of him.'" I quote these words of ex-Senator Spooner, as they are set down in the Congressional Record, because they show, in a pathetic manner, how utterly incommensurate with the work he performed and the service he rendered was the remuneration which he received therefor, and how much, or rather how little he was worth in dollars and cents after nearly fifty years of public service. With him

"The path of duty was the way to glory.
Whatever record leap to light
He never shall be shamed: —
Who never sold the truth to serve the hour,
Nor paltered with eternal God for power,
Whose eighty winters freeze with one rebuke
All great self-seekers trampling on the right.
Eternal honor to his name."

Glancing now, more particularly, at some of General Hawley's most distinctive traits and qualities, we find, first of all, that they were all grounded in a fundamental and predominant natural honesty. Out of this came that consuming and contagious passion for what he deemed right, of which we have already spoken. With the people generally he was "Honest Joe Hawley," long before and after other official titles were conferred upon him. Honesty of nature means simplicity as well as sincerity of character, truth in the inward parts, and no hidden things of dishonesty or deceitfulness. Therefore, his hands were clean, his eye single, and, like Sir Galahad "his strength was as the strength of ten because his heart was pure."

A GENTLEMAN

General Hawley had the natural instincts and the acquired habits, manners and morals of a gentleman, not of the veneering sort of a thin and polished politeness, but of that other kind, of

which Sir Roger de Coverly, Benjamin Franklin and Colonel Newcome are different specimens, whose gentlemanly qualities all true gentlemen instantly recognize as wrought into the grain and texture of character, essential, solid and substantial. Doubtless he was sometimes, in the eagerness of his very earnestness, a little rough and perhaps imperious, but inwardly and obviously a brave, true, honorable, hearty, wholesome, generous and genial gentleman, whose natural dignity and simplicity gave his courtesy a grace beyond all art of courtliness, and whose visible human kindness and tender-heartedness gave to every gentlemanly virtue a peculiar charm. He was a fruit of Puritanism grown ripe and mellow. Conscientious as a Puritan, he was chivalrous as a cavalier. Severely tested in this particular by the provocations of political controversies, he stood that test, was courteous in combat, fought fair, and could salute either a victorious or a vanquished, if honorable, antagonist. Sometimes vehement and even volcanic in utterance, I doubt if he ever polluted his lips or disgraced debate with the dialect of vituperation. That which he said of a public man whose opinions he detested: "We must judge opinions by the light we have, and men by the light they have," was characteristic of his justice and generosity. That other famous sentence, "Uncle Sam must be a gentleman," was no cunningly-coined phrase, but the spontaneous expression of a ruling sentiment within him. He was just the kind of a gentleman that "Uncle Sam" and Uncle Sam's public men ought to be.

HIS APPEARANCE AND MANNER

General Hawley's personal appearance, carriage and demeanor were unusually indicative of some of his striking characteristics. A casual, if keen, observer might have inferred such things in him as vigor of mind, energy of will, a commanding spirit, uprightness and straight-forwardness, positive convictions and the courage of them, a big and breezy generosity of good nature, and an ardent temperament capable of impulsive and impetuous manifestations. In the kindly light that so often shone in his deep, clear, searching eyes and irradiated his strong-featured face, in the cordiality that so often gave a peculiar winsomeness to his voice and manner, there were signs of other and gentler qualities more fully disclosed to acquaintance. He was a man of strong affections and attachments, a loving and a lovable

man. Underneath a rugged exterior there was a most beautiful and bountiful brotherly-kindness, and living springs of almost feminine tenderness, of which every comrade and friend was aware. His heart was democratic in its hospitality, catholic in its sympathy and charity. Let it not pass without honorable mention here that, when the occasion came, this man stood up as bravely and spoke out as boldly for the yellow man and for justice to him, as he had done for the black man and the red.

Much as there was in him to inspire respect and to invite confidence, there was also something to warn the unwary and to ward off the crooked and perverse. Mr. Facing-Both-Ways and all his sort of folks were likely to find him somewhat curt and brusque. It was obviously difficult for him to conceal his impatience with duplicity, his contempt for moral cowardice, his disgust for impurity, his indignation and wrath against "whatsoever worketh abomination or maketh a lie." Therefore, in certain moral, or immoral atmospheric conditions, the sunshine and serenity of his habitual good nature assumed an aspect overcast and menacing as that of a summer-day sky in a thunder storm. He mightily loved righteousness and equally hated iniquity and whatever fault there may have been in his outspokenness concerning such things was the defect of a virtue. One might say that at times his very honesty was ungovernable.

AN OPTIMIST

General Hawley was an ingrained optimist, "a man of hope and forward-looking mind." He scouted all lamentations over the decay or decline of either religion, morality, or patriotism. He believed that "the best is yet to be," and rejoiced in the sure though often unsteady forward-marching of mankind and in the ultimate triumph of good over evil. This disposition to the most hopeful views made him

"A man of cheerful yesterdays and confident tomorrows,"

and was an element of his strength; and the outshining of this gladsome light of faith and hope within him was a means of much refreshment and blessing to many.

Accordingly General Hawley was an eminently social man. He could mix as well as mingle with men, and was capable of mirth, hilarity and innocent convivialities. Some can recall how

he loved to lift up and let loose that deep, melodious voice of his in song, singing with equal fervor, as suitable to the occasion, "Rock of Ages" in the sanctuary, "Marching Through Georgia" at the camp-fire; "Roll Jordan, Roll," at the fireside, or Thackeray's jovial ballad at the Club. One can almost hear again the rumble and roar of his laughter as some shaft of wit went to the mark; and then an arrow from his quiver and the twang of his stout bow; and his boyish glee, in the rivalry and revelry of story, song and jest — for this man never quite outgrew his boyhood. In all such playfulness his natural dignity never deserted him. He thought too highly of it either to lay it aside or to assert it by standing upon it. It simply took care of itself, and made impossible for or with him any familiarities that smacked of indecency or impropriety.

Among the various characters depicted in Bunyan's immortal allegory are several that personify certain sterling qualities already designated as characteristic of General Hawley. But in the second part of that story a new character appears who seems to combine in himself the several virtues of those characters with certain other fine and noble qualities peculiar to himself, whose appropriate name is Greatheart. I cannot give a better summary description of General Hawley than by that Greatheart figure, in whose composite character Honest, Faithful, Hopeful, Standfast and Valiant-For-Truth were comprised and blended.

HIS POWER AS A PUBLIC SPEAKER

By a plenteous endowment of requisite gifts and aptitudes, physical, intellectual, moral and emotional, and by a diligent use and improvement of the same, General Hawley was thoroughly equipped for that vocation of a public speaker to which he was effectually called, and in which by his power of fluent, forcible and persuasive speech he performed a distinguished public service and obtained for himself an excellent report. He had something to say, and said it straight-forwardly and positively, with an air and manner of assurance and authority, in racy, sinewy Anglo-Saxon words, to which a superb physical presence and action gave weight and emphasis, an obvious sincerity gave persuasion, a glowing earnestness gave warmth and color, and a vibrant and resonant voice gave wings and music. He paid little heed, perhaps too little, to those things which adorn discourse

and give it grace and charm. The texture of his style was not smooth and soft like silk, but like homespun, rugged, strong and suitable. His speech was the image of his mind. There were few dulcet notes in his periods, but through them all the ring and rhythm of a brave sincerity and truth. He had the knack of making an impressive statement of plain facts, and the rare power of presenting homely and familiar truths in something of their original freshness and sanctity. Occasionally came gleams of humor and flashes of mother-wit, but, sooner or later, in almost every speech, some level sentence in which the whole argument was packed in solid, concrete form and shot home to the mark; as when, at the republican convention at Chicago, in 1868, over which he presided, he gave repudiation a knockdown blow with the memorable sentence "Remember that every dollar of the nation's debt is as sacred as a soldier's grave!" His oratory so expressed himself, his vital convictions, his vigor, ardor, earnestness, intensity, and the unanimity of all his powers, that one may safely say that no man in Connecticut of his generation, spoke to his fellow citizens more acceptably, forcibly and effectually than he.

AN IMPOLITIC POLITICIAN

The faults of a public man of frank and open nature and fervid temperament are usually obvious. It was so with General Hawley. No report of him would be truthful that did not, in general terms, frankly acknowledge this. But any such acknowledgment would be grossly unjust that did not preclude all supposition of moral delinquencies. There was no stain on his character, no blot on his escutcheon. Such faults as he had were negative, incidental, superficial — failings or foibles rather than faults, distinctly impolitic in a politician, and such as might have seriously handicapped an ordinary man. But General Hawley was much more, everyway, than a politician, and was an extraordinary man. He was otherwise and in his altogether a man of such intellectual and moral soundness, dignity, weight and strength, of such promptitude and energy and forwardness at every clear call of duty, that those things which sometimes, in the treadmill routine of ordinary affairs, had the appearance of weakness, sat lightly and loosely upon him, were shaken off by the arousal of responsibility, and were universally regarded as of minor concern.

PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN HIM

One test of a public man's real greatness is his ability, especially his moral ability, to obtain that public confidence and co-operation which will supplement his personal incompleteness. How did General Hawley stand that test? There was something in him by virtue of which he ever drew to himself, from out the mass of men, the better sort, as a magnet attracts from a heap of sand the precious particles therein. He had about him here a body-guard composed of strong and sagacious men devoted to the promotion of both his cause and his interests, whose counsels, corrections and manifold assistance supplied what he lacked and otherwise contributed to his success. Moreover, a great majority of the thoughtful, patriotic and God-fearing people of Connecticut so admired, trusted and appreciated him, were so fond and proud and sure of him, that in so far as any failings on his part were brought to their notice, they put them aside, and stood by him as in firm phalanx, and backed him up as with a solid rampart of public moral sentiment and support, eager to give him their highest offices and greatest honors. One needs only to consider the import of that affinity with right-minded people, and what it signifies in him that he could and did attract and attach that cohort of devoted friends and helpers, and could and did create that rampart of public confidence and moral sentiment, in order to perceive what manner of man he was in a variety of sterling virtues, how sound and strong in his totality; and also to perceive that, whatever his failings may have been, they were little more than so many eddies on the surface of the deep, strong, steady main-current of his character and conduct.

HARRIET FOOTE HAWLEY

In the Asylum Hill Congregational Church in Hartford may be seen a memorial tablet in honor of the noble woman who in 1855 became General Hawley's wife, and who died in 1886. It was placed there by the veterans of the Seventh Connecticut Regiment in grateful remembrance of her ministrations and benefactions to the soldiers of that regiment during the war. Its inscription reads, "By the grace of God Harriet Foote Hawley lived a helpful life, brave, tender and true, a soldier and servant of Jesus Christ." I quote these words, true of both husband and wife, because they enable me to express the otherwise almost in-

expressible value of what she did for him. The grace of God by which he also "lived a helpful life, brave, tender and true, a soldier and servant of Jesus Christ," was in large measure conferred upon him through her gentle, wise, loving and constant ministrations:—as in his later and declining days the same grace was bestowed upon him through the similar ministrations of the devoted wife who, with their two children, survives him.

Most of General Hawley's old comrades in arms, of his compeers in political life and of those who personally knew him have passed away. Of his intimate friends only a feeble remnant remains. With few exceptions

"The names he loved to hear
Have been carved for many a year
On the tomb."

HIS ENDURING NAME AND FAME

But when all in whose personal recollections he now lives shall have disappeared, his name and fame, inscribed upon a scroll of honor which neither time can stain nor dust can dim, will be illustrious and enduring. The vivid picture of his vigorous personality together with the story of his manifold patriotic services will be transmitted from one generation to another. In the pages of that thrilling chapter of our national history which, by voice and pen and sword and civil service, he helped to make: in that larger liberty and more abundant welfare of all our people to which he made such generous contributions; and in the honor and reverence of a grateful posterity, Joseph R. Hawley, surviving all mortal memories, will continue to live, a perpetual presence and a power among the foremost of Connecticut's forgotten worthies.

HIS LEGACY TO THE PEOPLE OF CONNECTICUT

How much was this man worth when he died? An imperfect description of the kind of poverty he acquired has been herein given, but no exact estimation of his wealth or worth seems possible. Any inventory of that rich estate would be worthless that did not contain the following chief items: The moral heroism of his self-consecration to high ideals in the morning of his manhood and the continuity of that consecration unto death;

that loyalty, of which his lamented colleague testified, "to his friends, to his people, to his state, to the nation, to truth, and to God himself"; the luminous record of his distinguished public service; the triumphs of his eloquence, the trophies of his valor, the testimonies to his statesmanship; the integrity, purity and magnanimity of his personal character; his bright and inspiring example of whatsoever things are praiseworthy and of good report; the music and the magic of his name; the unsullied chastity of his renown. This wealth, all that he was worth, he bequeathed to his dear people of Connecticut, a priceless legacy, to be theirs and their heirs' forever. May the everlasting Light shine upon him, here and yonder, forevermore!

Respectfully submitted,

H. WALES LINES,
HENRY DRYHURST,
ALTON FARREL,
LEWIS SPERRY,
CHARLES L. HUBBARD,
ERICK H. ROSSITER,

Commission on Memorial to Senator Platt.

CHARLES F. BROOKER,
CHARLES HOPKINS CLARK,
NORRIS G. OSBORN,
GEORGE P. MCLEAN,
MARCUS H. HOLCOMB,
THOMAS D. BRADSTREET,
MORGAN G. BULKELEY,

Commission on Memorial to Senator Hawley.

BURTON MANSFIELD,
CHARLES NOEL FLAGG,
BERNADOTTE PERRIN,
H. SIDDONS MOWBRAY,
GEORGE D. SEYMOUR,
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